[illegible]

It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily accepted, cannot be assimilated without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance to Muwafi, is summarized by Khoury, "... the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 102).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. There is one reason that the Westerner, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which even Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool, it is a source of everyday pleasure and enjoyment, and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of elegance." (Khoury, 1914, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great differences in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

In Muwafi, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defenses, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

[illegible] 9-6 (1992) 1994 [illegible]

6.16 Language spoken, Table 6P

The predominance of household heads in Jerusalem was investigated for the major languages spoken in Israel. Over one of ten speak Arabic. The largest incidence of a foreign language spoken was French (2.1%) with English next (1.1%). The historical course reflects the mandate and other historical connections with French culture as well as the fact that French is the second official language, while the latter is part of a trend to switch very easily to Hebrew with the great influx of new immigrants. Hebrew as Turkish is the fourth most prominent language reflecting the old Ottoman Empire for Jews and the bilingual spirit of the Armenian religious. Armenian (with) is the next largest language group. All other languages have numerical significance.

6.17 Language read, Table 6Q

It was expected a much smaller group (97.7%) of household heads read Arabic. The difference between speaking and reading of French and English is negligible. Private schools in both languages exist on training students in the language of the sponsoring country as well as Arabic. Indeed, many native born and bred Israeli Arabs read French more fluently than Arabic. The drop in the reading of Turkish is still unexplained, but Armenians seem to have learned both to speak and read the language well.

6.18 Languages written, Table 6Q

There is no significant difference between the reading and writing of any of the languages recorded in the survey for heads of households.

a. Among the non-

b. Of Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Russian script there is no

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Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

4.31 Number of years attended school. Table 42

The amount of schooling of spouses of female household heads is low. Most of the female household heads, almost half of whom have had no formal education. The median schooling is more or less the same, although, of those who have been to school, there is a somewhat higher average amount of schooling for the spouses.

In higher education (secondary or higher) there are about four percent of the sample, indicating again the cultural belief in the greater economic ability of schooling men. This is part of the oft expressed attitude that educating women is expensive and the benefits go to her husband, not her own family.

4.32 Type of school attended. Table 43

As with household heads, for those attending among the spouses, more go to the state schools while an additional small group went to both private and public schools.

4.33 Country of school attended. Table 44

Almost three-quarters of the women who were educated in Lebanon only. In general the pattern of schooling by type of school attended is like that of the household head.

4.34 Languages spoken. Table 45

Less spouses speak Arabic, probably due to the fact that for foreigners there is less need among women to speak the language of the country than there is for the bread winner. The order of secondary languages is again French, English, Turkish and Armenian. One peculiar difference lies in the larger proportion of men than women who speak both Turkish and Armenian.

4.35 Languages read. Table 46

Literacy is lower among spouses than household heads with over a third of the spou-

[illegible] Chi-square test [illegible] was significant. Correct answers tend to rank language category which is statistically significant.

These test reading correlate closely with the percentage of those who have not attended school.

(3.3) Languages written, Table 47

As with the cases there is no substantial difference in the ability to read and to write any of the languages recorded.

The fact that spoken language is the most common, then reading and last writing holds up in detail. The difference between reading and writing is not significant but accords with expectations.

Children of Head of Household

[illegible] A special type of table has been constructed for the children of heads of households which shows the relationships between age and status of schooling for children now in school and now out of school. The tables are broken down by sex and are also shown with sexes grouped together.

4.41 White children now not in school, Table 48

In the sample there were [illegible] male children of heads of households who are now not in school. Of these thirty-two percent were below school age which was arbitrarily set at six or less. Another fifty-four percent were above school age. Here again it was necessary to set an arbitrary age. It was set at eleven which is probably too high in terms of the actual situation. This leaves a group of male children of school age now not in school of fourteen percent.

4.42 Female children now not in school, Table 49

There were [illegible] female children now not in school. Some thirty-eight percent were below school age and forty percent above school age. There was a residue of twenty-one percent who are of school age but not in school. These

Table 38
Country of School Attended
by Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1486	100.00	
Lebanon only	995	66.96	.012
Leb. & Other Arab State	30	2.02	
Leb. & Other Eastern	10	0.67	
Leb. & Western	22	1.48	
Other Arabic	148	9.96	.008
Turkey	116	7.81	.007
Eastern	17	1.14	
Western	49	3.30	.004
Other	2	0.13	
No Answer	97	6.53	

Table 39
Languages Spoken by Household Head •

Language Spoken	Number
Total	3602
Arabic	1708
Armenian	170
French	805
English	619
Turkish	304
Hebrew	21
Other Eastern	36
Other Western	150
No Answer	7

• TWSAS [illegible] in the table and similar tables following.

p. 87 (a)

87(a)

19: Chemical 4-4 (1959) 1964 1973 Lebanon 1973

Table 40

Languages Read by Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2992	100.00
Arabic	1210	40.44
Armenian	141	4.72
French	687	22.96
English	348	11.63
Turkish	122	4.08
Hebrew	7	0.23
Other Eastern	14	0.47
Other Western	108	3.61
Other	1	0.03
None	346	11.56
Don't Know	8	0.27

Table 41

Languages Written by Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2981	100.00
Arabic	1194	40.05
Armenian	144	4.83
French	690	23.15
English	339	11.37
Turkish	124	4.16
Hebrew	8	0.27
Other Eastern	16	0.54
Other Western	106	3.56
Other	2	0.07
None	351	11.77
Don't Know	7	0.23

15 Census 44 (1970) 11th Adi Census Adi

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Table 44

Country of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Name of Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1079	100.00	
Lebanon only	702	65.06	.014
Leb. & Other Arab	18	1.67	
Leb. & Other Eastern	4	0.37	
Leb. & Other Western	6	0.56	
Other Arab	115	10.66	.009
Turkey	69	6.39	.007
Eastern	5	0.46	
Western	65	6.02	.007
Other	8	0.74	
No Answer	87	8.07	

Table 45

Languages Spoken by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Spoken	Number	Percent
Total	2892	100.00
Arabic	1449	50.15
Armenian	50	2.01
French	509	20.42
English	220	8.83
Turkish	149	5.98
Hebrew	6	0.24
Other Eastern	15	0.60
Other Western	84	3.37
Other	6	0.24
No Answer	4	0.16

15 Chemistry 1-4 (1958) 1954 US Census 1951

Table 46
Languages Read by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2303	100.00
Arabic	768	33.35
Armenian	126	5.47
French	459	19.93
English	192	8.34
Turkish	53	2.30
Hebrew	5	0.22
Other Eastern	3	0.13
Other Western	65	2.82
Other	4	0.17
None	614	26.66
No Answer	12	0.52

Table 47
Languages Written by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2348	100.00
Arabic	738	31.46
Armenian	125	5.33
French	462	19.69
English	197	8.40
Turkish	48	2.05
Hebrew	33	1.41
Other Eastern	6	0.26
Other Western	63	2.68
Other	4	0.16
None	655	27.92
No Answer	15	0.64

(c) 37 ف.

US Census of Egypt 1934 Vol. I

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.

621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
179 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education. Other mission teachers came to the village and
621 gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
975 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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16c Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME Lebanon MEI

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent effort and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 4 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, C-3 (1945-1946)1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon ME1

'872 education except that orientation toward the more practical side of life becomes a fundamental aim. Students are prepared in this stage for vocational schools and professional schools for teachers and for entry into life. During the first two years, therefore, the teacher is to watch the interests of the pupil in order to direct him toward that line of specialization for which he is best suited.

The Primary Program of Studies

The program for the first two years of the higher primary school is made identical with that of the first two years of the secondary program to allow the pupil to transfer without loss of time, and presumably to give him enough time to mature and for his abilities and interests to show themselves before he chooses his career. The last two years, however, differ from those of the secondary school in giving greater emphasis to the practical side of the studies. Translated into time distribution, this means one hour more to drawing and manual arts, and to science (physics, chemistry, and biology), and two hours more to mathematics in the higher primary course, while in the secondary course emphasis is laid on languages, history and geography, and morals and civics.

Table 76 shows the primary and higher primary program of studies which together make up a program of nine years.

A summary of the primary and higher primary courses of study, though separate units, will be given here in a combined form, partly to avoid repetition and partly to show the evolution of each subject through the grades.

Arabic

'872 In the teaching of Arabic special attention is paid to the difference between
● 191 the colloquial and the classical languages, and an effort made to bridge the
'276 gap between them by selecting, as far as possible, vocabulary from the colloquial and incorporating it in correct sentences in the classical style. Care is taken not to choose difficult and rare words far from the pupil's environment. In the higher primary school special emphasis is laid on composition and style on living topics, and on the development of taste in literature.

Arabic begins in the first grade with reading of elementary words and simple sentences in a method that seems to be a combination of a spelling and a phonetic method. Reading is accompanied by penmanship based on the lessons and by memorization of simple poems. In subsequent years read-

44 Matthews and Akrawi 1, C-3 (1945-1948)1949 MI Middle East
Lebanon MEI

ing of pieces with explanation of the meaning of words and comprehension is emphasized. The pieces are at first vowelled to insure correct reading, but later unvowelled pieces are introduced. Selections from contemporary writers are chosen in the first two years of the higher primary school, while in the last two years selections from various periods of Arabic literature are chosen. Memorization continues throughout with poems and, later, prose

TABLE 76

PROGRAM OF STUDIES FOR PRIMARY AND HIGHER PRIMARY SCHOOLS, LEBANON, 1946

SUBJECTS	PERIODS PER WEEK				
	Primary School			Higher Primary School	
	1st Year	2nd and 3rd Years	4th and 5th Years	1st and 2nd Years	3rd and 4th Years
In Arabic:					
Religion	1	1	1	1	1
Moral and national lessons	1½	1	1	1½	1½
Reading, memorization, penmanship copying*	6	3½	2	3	5
Composition, grammar, dictation	...	3	...	3	
Grammar, dictation	...	...	2	...	
Composition, penmanship	...	...	2	...	
Object lessons, conversation, hygiene†	2	1½	2	...	...
Arithmetic	5	5	5	...	...
History, geography	...	2	2	2½	2½
Drawing, manual arts	2	2	2	2	3
Music, singing	2	1	1	1	1
Physical education	2½	2	2	2	2
In the foreign language:					
Reading, memorization, penmanship	5	5	2	3	5
Grammar, composition, dictation			...	3	
Grammar, dictation			1½	...	
Composition, penmanship			1½	...	
Optional in Arabic or the foreign language:					
Physics, chemistry, biology	...	...	...	4	4
Mathematics	...	...	...	4	5
Total	27	27	27	30	30

* Penmanship shifted to composition after third year. Copying eliminated.
† Female assigned to conversation only in first year, hygiene added in fourth and fifth years.

pieces and proverbs of increasing difficulty. Dictation starts in the second grade with exercises already studied and continues later with unstudied selections through the third year of the higher course, with emphasis on the writing of the *hamzah*. Written composition starts in the second grade with exercises in sentence construction, leads to the writing of descriptions of simple events, stories, and letters; develops in the higher course into longer stories, writing about descriptive and moral topics, essays, development of themes, and translation. Conversation lessons are given in the second and

44:Matthews and Akrawi 3,C-3 (1945-1949)1948 M] Middle East
Lebanon MEI

'872 third primary years and are based on the observation of the immediate
•191 environment of the children—the home, the school, familiar animals, flowers
'876 and plants, fairy tales, school picnics, and trips—and in the third grade on such topics as the seasons, the story of bread, the various trades, the mail, the cleaning of the streets, transportation, and dramatized stories. In the fourth and fifth years conversation is merged with the preliminary discussion of composition topics.

Grammar begins in the second grade with the parts of speech, the singular, dual, and plural, the masculine and feminine, proper and common nouns, the adjective, the pronoun, simple conjugation, and the subject and object. In each subsequent year these topics are expanded and new topics brought in, for example, the root verb and the derivative verb, the past, present, and imperative, and their conjugation, the verbal and the nominal sentences, the active and the passive, the adverbs of place and time, number, the demonstrative nouns, and types of nominal sentences. By the end of the third year of the higher primary school almost all the topics of grammar have been studied, and some of them repeatedly emphasized.

The Arabic course culminates in the fourth year of the higher primary course with a study of Arabic literature, heroic and lyric poetry, dramatics, philosophical poetry, the story, and description. Selections from the works of two prose writers and one poet of the 'Abbasid period are studied.

History and Geography

'872 In teaching history and geography, the teacher is reminded that these
'876 subjects are of great use in developing patriotism and national spirit, that the two subjects are intimately related, that full use should be made of maps, particularly in the study of Lebanon's economic wealth and possibilities, and the lines of communication within Lebanon and between it and the Arab and other countries of the world. Special detail is to be given to the countries which have received Lebanese emigrants.

History and geography start informally in the first grade by reference to village life, the earth, the stars, and atmospheric phenomena. In the second and third years historical pictures and stories about Lebanon and the Arab countries are taken up. Beginning with the fourth year, history is divided into two parts: history of Lebanon and history of the rest of the world. In the fourth grade, early history of Lebanon is brought down to the end of the Byzantine period, and the history of the world to the discovery of America and the beginning of the Western nations is studied. In the fifth year Lebanese history to the present day is studied including

tants and less than 4,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 253,000 Sunnites and 224,500 Shiites, represented slightly less than 40 per cent of the population. The Druses, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 79,700. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 80 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 6,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 170,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 106,390 on the roster of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in 1951, about 34 per cent were housed in 15 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many

last war, when they were dislodged from their original homes in the Kurdish mountains; the Chaldaeans have lived in the Mosul area of Iraq for many centuries. In 1933 a period of tension between a section of the Assyrians and the Iraqi Government ended with the killing of some hundreds of them by Iraqi troops. Several thousands in consequence crossed the frontier into Syria, and although some of them later returned to Iraq, others were settled in the Jazirah with assistance from the League of Nations. Their settlement became an integral part of the Syrian State in 1942.

A large part of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics still speak Syriac. They have been settled since before the coming of Islam in north Syria and south Turkey, in and around the Taurus hills, against which the wave of Arab influence exhausted itself. Thus they have been able to preserve their Syriac dialect which farther south has been replaced almost everywhere by Arabic. Many are, however, bilingual in Arabic and Syriac, and others have abandoned Syriac and are now Arabic-speaking.

There are certain other groups which resemble the Armenians and Assyrians in not being Arabic-speaking, but unlike them are orthodox Moslems. The most important of them are:

(i) The Kurds, of whom there are perhaps 800,000.[1] They are mountaineers from the high country which links the Anatolian and Persian plateaux, and speak a dialect akin to Persian. Some of them have long been resident in the country, but others have emigrated in the last twenty years from their homes in the mountains of eastern Turkey, in order to escape the repressive measures of the Turkish Government. There are small numbers of Kurdish-speaking Yazidis, Alawis and Christians, but most of those who speak Kurdish as their native language are Sunnis.

(ii) The Turcomans, who number perhaps 30,000. They came originally from Central Asia, and their language is a dialect of Turkish. Originally nomads, they have now become semi-sedentary or wholly sedentary cultivators of the soil.

[1] These figures are only rough estimates; there are no official statistics for national and racial minorities.